471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.
This man lived along the large road.

4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.
Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

[554 576 689]

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;
And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.

6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:
Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:

7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';
If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

539
773

/47 cont./

8. Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja; — But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/

9. Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang. — When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.

10. Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi. — When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773
171

The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241
796

Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
778 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë [103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected with this place.

539

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngngna ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/71 cont./

539

5. Le'baki nabonei rakina batu, narasatommi napanai' andjo batua;
6. nanampa nalurang kalau',
7. ero'na erang kalau' ri kota napareka Karaëngna ri Goa.

When they loaded their raft with rocks, they accidentally loaded this rock onto it, too; and then they traveled back again, down the river, with the intention of bringing this rock to the fort that was being built for the Prince.

8. Naandjo parakika narapina Pakua tudjunna wara' pammantanganna kammakammanne, rakika tea sikali alolo,
9. sanggennandjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, naandjo batua tenatodong nakkulle tuguru'.

But when the raft pilot came to Pakua, situated to the north of the present-day location of the rock, the raft not only absolutely refused to go on, but even turned over; the rock, however, did not come off.

10. Siapa sallona andjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, andjo batua nampa tommi alolo kale-kale nai'ri pammantanganna kammakammanne.

Some time after the raft had capsized, the rock of its own initiative began to creep toward its present-day location.

11. Djari battunamo nai' andjo batua, nampa tommi ero' alolo andjo rakika kalau'.

Only when the rock had arrived there, was the raft willing to float on down the river. /72/

12. Saba' nitjini' naandjo buata appakamma, naia battuna nai', nia' ngassemmi taua battu antjiniki nani-passamaturukimo ri tau

And because they had seen what this rock did, all the people had come, after it had arrived at its present site, in order to look at it, and all these people agreed

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang.

that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 778 796 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.

In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 778 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exercise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

537 643 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114]

1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 539 643
Listen to me,
the most miserable servant of God,
the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

537 /118 cont./
539 who stands firmly for the truth.
643 I am always at work,
like a pack saddle that is never taken off,
like a saddle strap that is never loosened.
I am strong as a crupper which never tears, /119/
as a needle which never breaks,
as a hide that never yells when it is beaten.
Whether it is heavy or light,
I carry all.
If I am sent far away,
then nobody needs to help me at my task;
then one only needs to listen
to the report that I bring back.
For I am as a dove that does not
have to be lured but that comes by itself.
If I get work to perform close by,
then I need no help with it;
then one only needs to look on at my work.
For I am as a cock that does not need to be called,
but that comes of its own accord.
Even if there is but one single piece of rattan from a rattan mat,
even if there is but one single string of lontar,
if the Royal Council should sit on it; I will sit on it.
Even if rain and wind beat against me,
even if the whirlwind turns me around,
I am not afraid,
so long as I find protection with the Royal Council.
I am a descendant of people who persevere;
I am a descendant of people who do not fear death;
I am the most reliable of all confidants;
I am the best of all followers;
I am the most valiant man of Goa,
the hero of Borongloë.
Listen to the Berang River,
the never-breaking anchor cord of Goa.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraeng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

342
645

1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created pre-
834 cisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from
562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague,
idealizing terms.

● 539 Nampa' ri udjung Borinu, — When I had come to the
157 farthest point of your land,

riappa pa'rasangannu — to the remotest point of your land,

nanailalang — then my soul was already in you,

sumangakku, makkaraëng — worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy
562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N. sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 157 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 182 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het," /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

589 /160 cont./ same men, therefore, continued to believe in the reaction expected of women when the marriage is announced to them, as the real manifestation of their feelings. In a kelong recited by women, one hears a different tone,
589 however:
539 /161/ Lolobangkomi denangku; — My friend has become an old maid;
djappomi padja bungkenna — her first sarong is already worn-out (1)

1. This refers to a custom by which the first sarong a young girl weaves, after she has just learned to do so, is kept for her bridegroom.

mattajang guru; — in waiting for a man;
mana palukka tania'. — not even a thief was there (2).

2. That is to say, she did not even carry out a marriage by flight.

589 With respect to older unmarried men, it is believed that they could have married but that they did not want to do so. People are satisfied with that; they are not urged to marry. The few older unmarried men who could be observed for some time every day, seemed like quiet, contented individuals who performed all kinds of little tasks in the house, rendered small services to their housemates, and sometimes even looked after the little children. Their standing in the group of relatives [554] is not great. Men who enjoy status in their related group are always married.

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 [554] The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this purpose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. [177] The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). [539] Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tene'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

126 /181 cont./ latter here followed the system suggested by
585 Professor A. A. Cense. In the translation, I tried to transpose the frequently figurative text into as good Dutch as was possible. It was not my intention to take strict responsibility for the translation.

585
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	Pakkio' bunting	Address to welcome the bridegroom
1.	Iadende', iadende',	Happily, happily,
2.	nia' todjemmindjo maë	there now finally comes
3.	bunting salloa kutajang,	the bridegroom whom I have been expecting for such a long time,
4.	salloa kuminasai.	for whose arrival I have been hoping for such a long time.
5.	Nampako riudjung borikku, riappa' pa'rasangangku,	Now that you have come to the outermost point, to the border of my land,
6.	nakurappoiko tjini', kutimbarangngiko pangngai.	I give you my best wishes and my love.
7.	Nampako kuasseng nia', nakuitungko labattu,	Now I know that you are there, that you have really arrived,
8.	kunragi memang berasa' ri- mangko' kebo',	I am preparing four-colored rice in a white bowl, /182/
9.	kummatta memang rappobau' ripalakku,	then I will hack a betel nut into little pieces on the palm of my hand,
10.	kunnanro memang kalomping ritalang bulaëng;	and I will place a folded betel leaf on a golden bowl;
11.	kutongko intang, kubelobelo djamarro';	and I will cover all this with jewels and adorn it with emeralds;
12.	intang matjora massingarri dallekannu,	glittering diamonds shine upon your face,

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/182 cont./

13.	bulaĕng ti'no' assuloi pattjini'nu.	pure gold illuminates your visage.
14.	Lakukapeangko anne sumanga'nu mabellaja,	I will wave to your soul which is far away, to turn around,
15.	lakukiokangko pole tubunu 'lampa salaja.	I will call back for you your body, which is wandering around aimlessly.
16.	Badji' kuallekonne bungabunga tamalate;	I draw you toward myself like a flower which will never wilt.
17.	late bunga, tamalate tjinikannu.	A flower wilts, but one can never get enough of looking at you.
18.	Kutannangkonne tope talakka' riaja';	I shall make you into a sarong that will always be warm.
19.	lakka' tope tamalakkakko ikau.	A sarong may become loose, but you stay.
20.	Sangkontu sanrapammamako bulang sampuloa ngngappa',	You are like the full moon,
21.	nasusung pale, natinriang wari-wari;	with the evening star by its side which at the same time is accompanied by the morning star; /183/
22.	wari-wari kapapasang, pale mannuntunga bangngi.	a morning star which shines through to day break, and an evening star that continues to glitter throughout the night (1).

1. Thus something special, something that has never before been seen.

/183 cont./

585 539

23. Nisailenu kau, tamalladjunu nitjini' ma'mole-mole.
One looks at you, one never gets enough of looking at you.

24. Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, kukanro ana' karaëng.
I call you a man of the nobility and honor you as a prince.

25. Nutuli manai'mo maë riballa'na matoannu, rituka'na ipara'nu,
Come enter the house of your parents-in-law, along the steps of your brothers-in-law and your sisters-in-law,

26. matoang tuna, ipara' kamasemase;
your lowly parents-in-law and your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

27. mangngondjottommakonne tuka' tallu anronna, patampulo baringanna;
go along the ladder with the three uprights and the forty rungs (2);

[554]

2. These and the following references point to the fact that here one is in the house of a very prominent man.

28. mandjapputtongko pole tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu;
hold on tight to the banister of the ladder, which is divided into joints like sugar cane;

29. nutuli manai';
climb steadily upward;

30. mannjorong pakke'bu nigiring-giring;
push against the door which is provided with little copper bells;

31. mangngondjot tongko dasere' nidjaling kawa', nia'lanro bassi kalling;
step onto the floor boards which are tied to the transverse boards by means of wire;

/183 cont./

585 539

32. mateteongko pallangga nibatang rappo; — also run across the beams of the floor that are made of the stems of the areca;/184/

33. mannosotongko padongko' nitau-tau — pass under the large attic beam which is provided with a few upright beams;

34. nutulimo kalau', rawanganna timbaonu, ammempo ribenteng polonnu. — walk on to the west (that is, the high part of the house), and sit down under the canopy of your bed against the smoothed head pole.

35. A'lapara' tappere' bo'dong; — Sit down on the round little mat;

36. andjo'djo kari kanang; — just point out, left and right, what you desire;

37. mansuro-suro rapannu, mampattudju sangkammannu. — just send off your equals to run errands; let them work for you.

38. Naremba-rembako pole ana' rara patampulo; — Forty young girls will keep you company;

39. nisarimanangko pole lonrong beru ma'bakka'; — you will be helped and served by adolescents;

40. benteng polong kanasako, kanako benteng pakkai', kai' topena pasikaiki badjunna. — ?

41. Nai' manaung tunibarangbaranginnu; assulu' antama ata maballa' balla'nu. — Your pledgees will run back and forth; your household slaves will go in and out.

42. Numa'djarang, numattedong, numa'djangang rassi lerang; — You will possess many horses and buffaloes, as well as a coop full of chickens;

/184 cont./

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43. nakatumbangngangi pole palampang ase berunu;
you will pile up so much young rice that the barn in which it is kept will collapse; /185/

44. nakatepokangi padongko' ase toanu.
you will possess so much old rice that the great ceiling beam will break under its weight.

45. Tamanraikko ri Ambong nukoasa;
You do not travel on Ambon and yet you are mighty (1);

46. takalaukko ri Djawa, nukalumannjang;
you do not travel on Java and yet you are wealthy (1);

1. The meaning is: "you do not trade, and yet you are mighty or wealthy."

47. tama'botoroko numammeta.
you do not gamble, and yet you win.

48. Assare-saremako sallang rimatoang kasi-asi,
You will also help your poor parents-in-law,

49. appiturummako pole riipara' kamase-mase.
you will also give something to your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

50. Nai'tuannu, ssalla' dasere' dalle'nu.
Your good fortune rises upward between the boards of the floor.

51. Kuminasaidjakondjo sunggu; kutindjakkiko mate'ne;
I hope that you will be fortunate; I make the vow that all will go well with you;

52. nusunggu todjeng numate'ne todjentodong.
and see, you are really fortunate and things are really going well with you.

/185 cont./

585
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53. La'bu bannang ri Djawa, mala'buang umuru'nu;
Long is the thread from here to Java, but even longer will be the duration of your life;

54. luara' tamparang, luarangngang nawa-nawannu;
wide is the sea, but more expansive are your thoughts;

55. tinggi Bawakaraëng, matinggiampa tuannu.
high is the mountain the Bawakaraëng, but even higher is your good fortune. /186/

56. Le'ba' gentung timbaonu, le'ba' tantang pakkalli'nu;
The canopy of your bed has already been hung, and the curtain of the bed has already been drawn;

57. timbao nikida-kida, pakkalli' niura' tallu.
the canopy is adorned with golden spangles, and the curtain is provided with three strips.

58. Le'ba' basami ba'ra'nu, le'ba' gusu' langiri'nu;
The powder for your face has already been moistened, and the water for the washing of your head is even now ready for use;

59. tattannangi pole tjapparu pa'minnjakkannu.
the pot with hair oil, which is destined for you, stands even now in readiness.

60. Nutulimo ntama ribili' kamua liku, kamua kallang-ngang rapa';
You will enter a little room that is pitch dark and seems like a whirlpool.

61. mannoso' badang; mannimba' bangkeng patjiko.
you will penetrate a body; you will open the rim of the hole.

/186 cont./

585 539

62. Nukana-kanami sallang saraka ripamminangngang; — You will recite the formulas of the bed;

63. tappau'-pau'mi pole bungabunga rikatinroannu. — the flowers in the bed spread their scent.

64. Nusipoke-poke genre, nusita'ba'-rappo toa; — You will extend to each other the folded betel leaves, and you will throw ripe areca nuts to each other;

65. nusipattoa-toai, nusipa'loaloai, nusipattjammo-tjammoi; — you will grow old together, and you will live together until you are forgetful and toothless;

66. sitanro takkang, sibuttju' pa'dengka-dengka. — until you will give each other a cane and until you throw an areca pounder toward each other. /187/

67. Lino-linopi anging, pakkeke mappasisa'la'. — Only after everything has become quiet (when the wind has died down), will you be separated by death.

68. Numammana'-mana' sarre, — You will get children just like the sarre plant (1),

[824]

1. Names /sic/ of plants that are well known for their many offshoots and rapid increase.

69. numa'borong unti-djawa, — you will form a forest of of pisang djawa,

70. numattju'la' ase-bakka'. — you will have offshoots just like the rice plant that is called ase-bakka'.

/187 cont./

585
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71. Pinruang tudju, pintallung tassalapangngi.
Two times seven and three times nine.

72. Manai'ngasemmi maë Anrongguru ningainu, Gallarrang nipangngalikinnu, Kapala nipaemponu,
They will all come to your house, your respected heads, your adat community heads, for whom one has respect, and your kampong heads, who are gladly welcomed,

73. battungasemmi pole bidjannu pammanakannu, bella-bella mbani-bani, tja'di-tja'di lompo-lompo, ana'-ana' tau toa.
all your kinsmen will come from near and far, big and small, old and young.

74. Nipanai'mako ripangkapangka bulaëng,
You will be brought to a golden palace,

75. nipaempomako ritappere' paramadani.
and you will be made to sit on a beautiful carpet.

76. Badji' nangai Na'bi, napudji Alla Taäla.
The Prophet loves you, and God praises you. /188/

77. Sipoko' bu'ne tantanna dje'ne' matannu;
Just as a berry tree drops its fruit, so there will be many tears shed for you;

78. sipoko' tjamba pammatti'na tloro'nu.
you will be envied just as a tamarind tree is envied its fruit.

79. Kupattannangngangkonne anggoro' rigantironu;
I will plant a vine for you under the outermost lower edge of your roof;

80. kupa'lamungangko pole lemotanning ridolangang,
I will also plant a djeruk tanning for you in the middle of the open sea,

/188 cont./

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81. nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.

which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.

82. Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;

Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591 795]

1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83. niërang ri bori'maraëng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.

you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.

84. Nukamma todong djonga,

You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,

85. mattoa' ri sampa' mangagajangan tunumalo.

which shyly looks at the passersby.

86. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Nampa' ²lampa riballakku, nakudjoli pakkibukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.

The song of the bridegroom goes: Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my door and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

/189 cont./

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87. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Takundjunga' sallo lolo, kurunrung balu baine, tamammonea', tope taero'na mmakku.

And the song of the bride goes:
It is not for nothing that I intentionally remained unmarried for a long time, I accept no tope whom my mother does not love.

88. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Ka'de' kutjini' Batara, kudupai allo-allo, nadjo' djokangku, lebang ripa'maikku.

The song of the bridegroom again goes:
If I should see God, I would burn incense for him' every day since He has shown me the one whom I love.

89. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Kade' nania' erokku, tea' sadju' risa'bea', tea' salasa ri badju montjong buloa.

The song of the bride goes:
If I should have a wish, then it would be: do not make the silken jacket unhappy and do not disappoint the green jacket (1).

1. The jacket here represents its wearer: a young girl, therefore the speaker herself.

90. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Nampako mattju'la' lebong, nakurompong-rompong memang lompoko nai', kutambai pa'rompongku.

And the bridegroom in turn says:
And if then you grow up like a young bamboo, then I will take care that no one will come near you (2); when you are fully grown I shall strengthen my protection.

/189 cont./

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2. Young bamboo shoots are protected against goats and buffaloes.

91. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke le'leng nakke kodi, nakke tja'di simbolengku.

And the bride says:
What do you see in me? I am dark and ugly, and my hair knot is small. /190/

92. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Manna le'leng manna kodi, manna tja'di simbolennu, titti' matangku, kala'busang pangngaingku.

And the bridegroom says:
Even though you are swarthy and even though you are homely, and even though your hair knot is small, you are the apple of my eye; after you I will love no other.

93. Nakanatosseng kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa mole-mole, taënamonne, parekanna maloloa.

And the song of the bride goes again:
Together we shall take good care of our common sarong; we shall wash it repeatedly; my work as a young girl has now come to an end.

94. Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.

Come in, all of you (1).

1. Literally, "Come upstairs, all of you."

The Wedding Ceremony According to Moslem Rite

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After this address or, in the case where this address is not recited, when the dikir is held up at the foot of the house steps,

585 /191 cont./ "And I asked further: 'How was the sunrang paid?' And thereupon Malla answered: 'Eight reals in cash and one section of a sawah situated in Bianreng (2) bordering

2. Name of a sectionof kampong Bontoramba.

in the north on the sawah of Rapi, in the west on the sawah of Bagenda, in the south on the sawah of Djumadi, and in the east on the sawah of Genda. This sawah was given for an amount of 16 reals.'

"Thereupon I took the bridegroom's thumb in order to conclude the marriage.

"I asked Malla: 'Do you consent to the marriage of these two?' And Malla said: 'It is good.' Three times I asked this.

"After that I performed the ceremony. As witnesses there were Djuma, the guru of Bontoramba, and Massulukang. I held onto the hand of the bridegroom and recited the vow before him: 'Asjhadu anla Ilaaha Illallah wa asjhadu anna Muhammadan Rasulullah (I truthfully testify that there is no other God than Allah taala; and I also testify that the Prophet Mohammed is the messenger of God).' [539]

"Subsequently I said: 'I pronounce you, Rahimi and Sija, the daughter of Malla, man and wife; your sunrang amounts to 24 reals.'

"And Rahimi said: 'I agree to be joined in marriage with Sija. I am paying a sunrang of 24 reals.' Three times he said this.

And the witnesses said: 'We agree.' Thereupon I let go of his hand. Rahimi was then conducted to his wife by Bandong in order to make her fortunate by his touch. The upper arm of Sija was touched by Rahimi.

The kampu was placed before me. It contained: 20 betel leaves, 2 areca nuts, limestone, and by way of wedding money, 8.25 guldens (8.-guldens in paper money and 25 cents). I gave 1.-gulden to each of the witnesses.

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and [828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite [576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

428 588 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

[539] Sari'battangadji todjeng, iadji kalli' madjarre'; pindu' tjikali naempoi ranggasela.

Only the brother is the true, he alone is the strong fence, where cousins of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

[185 cont.]

538 merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy; He hath not dealt with us according to our sins, nor regarded us according to our inquities; for he knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust" (5). One sees that parallelism is

5. Psalm 103:8, 10, and 14.

an accumulation of attributes and [186] expressions of the same idea. This is also true of the kelong and elong, which, however, in content, are similar to the Malayan pantuns in many respects, although usually prettier and also clearer. To judge: "If a drizzling rain should fall, oh pure virgin! gather its drops in the front folds of your garment, for you know that I have changed myself into a cloud and travel in that form" (1). This is clear

1. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, p. 421, col. 2, No. 8.

enough, but if the girl does not care for the young man, her answer is no less clear in the following kelong: "If you should come down as a drizzling rain, take care to avoid me. I have [539] not found it pleasant when a drizzling rain sprinkles me too often." The Buginese elong are generally just as clear as the kelong. We say generally because a peculiar language is found in many elong, known as basa to-Bakkâ, that is, the language of the man of Bakkâ. Bakkâ is a place in Soppeng, and the man of Bakkâ is a certain Datu Bakkâ, Prince of Boni, who was very famous in ancient times for his great sagacity. The basa to-Bakkâ is thus a kind of metaphorical language, which often consists of farfetched plays on words. Let us look at a single example. Imagine for a moment, reader, that you are in 538 574 Buginese country and that, tired, you arrive at the home of a Buginese who welcomes you with manri mana-no = eat chicken feed. This sounds very peculiar. If you understand the basa to-Bakkâ, however, it is clear enough. Chicken feed is

MK 538 [574] [186 cont.] principally bănni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni = spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched. MK [539] The elong in the basa Bakkă cannot be understood without explanation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesăssi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesăssi in the basa to-Bakkă makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express: [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B RL 538 Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak, Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better MK 538 informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called, respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one MK [764 114] should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese MK [773 776] and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

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Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

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La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of Wonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

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When La Dondorio had listened to this tale, he considered how he could escape the danger: If the women take me as a mate, I shall not come away alive; let me thus manage on my way to get a supply of penes. Where he got them from is not known, but he continued his journey with a supply of male genitalia in his boat. When he was approaching the coast of the island, the To Ngojoe saw that a man was coming to them. They came out of their houses and rushed to the shore and ran to meet him in the sea, for he would oblige whoever reached him first, and the others would have to fight over him.

La Dondorio saw them approaching and he said to the penes: "These are the To Ngojoe, who want to climb into our ship. When they have come close, you must fly up and every one must enter into the arse (tanta'i, but the vulva is surely meant) of each of them, so that they cannot approach me." The genitalia did this so that every one of the To Ngojoe was satisfied. With other men the women stormed their vessel so that it sank and the man drowned.

When all were satisfied, one of the women said to La Dondorio: "You, La Dondorio, are truly a clever man, for you are the only one who is leaving here alive. Therefore we wish to give you something to show our affection for you. We shall give you a protective charm such that all your descendants shall have power over the means that we give. /129/ When you make use of it, it will have effect; so also when your descendants make use of it." In this way La Dondorio received the nine sicknesses.

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In former times people were very afraid of them. When a contagious sickness prevailed in Poe'oe-mboto, it was thought that it had been sent by the Datoe, and then rice and chickens were collected in order to go and pay him honor (mepoee). The people were convinced that the Datoe had released one of the nine sicknesses because he was angry at something or other. The sicknesses that La Dondorio had brought along were of all sorts: stomach-ache, headache, fever. The people then went